

Jun 30, 1984

George Will is "shocked" at the comparison between the ~~1888~~ Sandinista failure to hold elections for 5 years and the American failure to elect a President "from 1776 to 1789?"

"Are you comparing the Sandinista regime to America under the Articles of Confederation?"

The difference reflects largely the difference between the Somalia regime (under various US Presidents) and the colonial regime under George III: the latter "started" (in 1776) with traditions and institutions of democracy that have never been permitted in Central America — a tradition to protect, not to create — and (B) without experience discrediting "elections" and "free press" and (C) without any hemispheric evening, let alone a vastly powerful, totally hostile one.

365 / 1000 000
3000

Nicaragua 13 Nov 84

"Dangerous, threatening" buildup of force in Nic is described by US officials in Wash Post as defensive against contras (not, as Shultz said, to intimidate neighbors):

Is thing of US pressure/invasion shaped by need to keep contras from being destroyed by attack helicopters, etc.?

(Bag of Pigs thing driven by fears of arrival of MIGs?

Cuba II - SAMS/IRBMs..

Shultz cites "Monroe Doctrine" against European "imperialism" — i.e. pressures from Europe off us to resist US invasion! US or Western sources being, of course, denied

*

(see Guatemala)

[Open Door to US invasion or air attacks or "counter" attacks]

(Black Terror) Network — of ^{CR} governmental and gov-supporting "private" terrorists which are ^{also} reports + coord. + encourage, as SU/Cuba is said to do for "red" R terrorists.

see NYT

Monroe Doctrine: Nic "aid" + "direction" (?) of El Salvador rebels constitutes "armed attack", against which even US invasion is justified, is "self-defense"

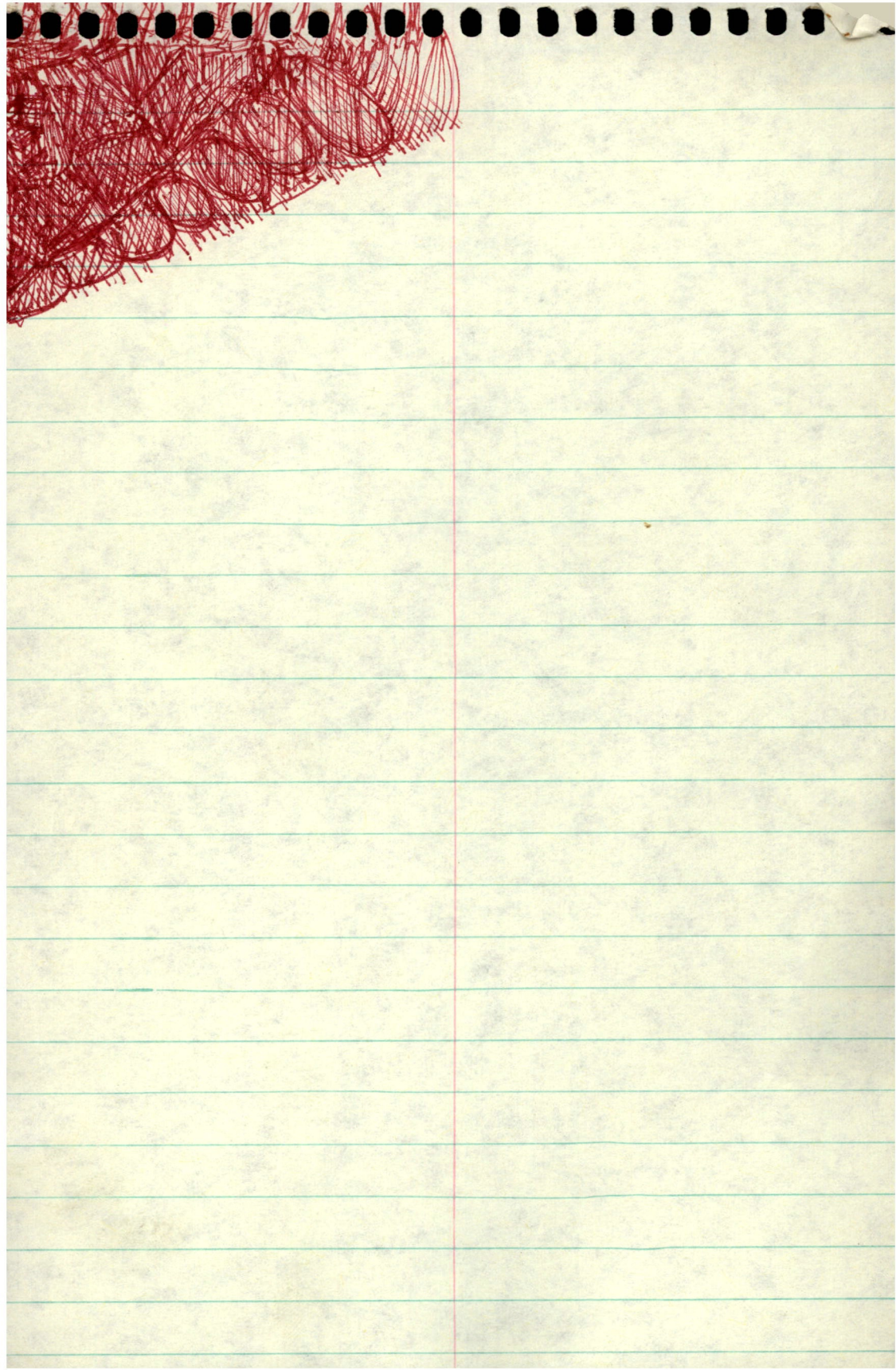
What, then, is US doing to Nic?

What would Nic be justified in doing, to repel or retaliate?

* Must the Press: The new weapons "have the effect of intimidating the neighbors [allies of US!] and removing a lot of the leverage the neighbors might otherwise possess, for getting a final agreement that would preserve the security of both countries."

Use of "Verification" and need for "reductions" in arms, and on-site inspections, to avoid ^W acceptance of Contadora treaty.

— MIGS AND SAMS COULD BE USED AGAINST CONTRAS.



84

La Progne, 11 Dec Managua

(going Wed to Matagalpa; see there? to Fari

He still thinks a 50% chance of invasion by end of year — though expects 2 weeks warning, and no signs yet.

(but. Christmas + New Year's ?!)

He finds military (+ the) "very right-wing"; they are Cons everywhere, and want a war. Also (Wf is Congress silent about illegality of bombing Nicaragua, including MIGs?)

"Because they're afraid it would be unpopular to call it illegal + wrong.

La Progne believes publicly wants to "get rid of Cons in Central America — they're even willing to send troops. Andriens is Midwest... think C is naive. Effect of VN, at this distance, is that they're smothering over defeat, think it wasn't done right — they want it done better. No draft increase, — or likely.

"R did learn that."

Public would accept Pres fait accompli,
as usual — not even defendant, as things
they're receiving.

Only Mike Barnes (head of CA Comm)
and Ted Weiss spoke out on illegality of
bombing.

He doesn't think Sadwinster will give up,
under real pressure. If say, "We can live
a little..." "It may be harder... but they
didn't live in the hell for years to give up
easily now..."

(Why didn't DeLoach speak out? "South Africa problem")

[Shouldn't Black Congressmen add this to
the South Africa concern?]

11 Dec 84

[Is Nix to be "punished" for the
Korean hostages, Afghanistan, and loss of VN;
as Adenauer was punished after 1949
for the "loss of China" (i.e. Dr Aden
protected itself by "drawing the line")

and again, in 1961 (advisors — they not
troops) for the Bay of Pigs (vs Berlin Wall):
"drawing a line."

Now, "roll-back"

(Right slogan after Korea!)

Also, a victory of the economic victory of
US citizens — voting in voting again (twice) for
Reagan,

What if my Memorandum "note the
pocket-books" — like Americans in 1984 — in
tolerating actions of countries vs US?

Danida Coady

Visited Grenada with Bill O'Donnell

Sister Mary Hartman

12 Dec 84

Went to Puerto Cabezas on Atlantic coast, 1962
(first-off for Bay of Pigs):

traditional Costa attitude: the poor you have
always with you — reward in heaven...

Medallion — "succumbate yourself in the life
of the poor" — live in the barrio

Students/prints who did this, "to see how other lived,"
began to see causes of poverty as a system of
oppression...

"People began to unite — not so much on Atlantic
Coast, where the Miskitos + blacks live...

Earthquake of '72 — 15,000 killed in seconds.
600 planes came with aid — which National
Guard sold to people...

Blaise Bonpane

11 Dec

Whenever religion allies with empire, ~~control~~
denunciation/control of sex is used, to convince
people they are guilty, sinful, unable to control
their own impulses without authority, submission.

Teaches pol. passivity: "Reform yourself
before you try to reform society."

Hartman

When Bill Stewart was gunned down while
photographing war (crouched on his knees)...

J National Guardian — photographed, on US TV,
led to protests to WH...

Luis Carrion, 28 — "I said, 'You look too young to have
gone through this war,'" "Inside, we're all old men.

—"The worst is yet to come — they're going
to try to destroy us — blockade, sabotage..."

✓ Santa Fe document — Roger Fontaine. [?]

"Plan of Reagan administration

"War, not peace, is the norm for international
relationships."

"The theology of liberation... is contrary to US
interests."

Nelson Rockefeller, 1969, visit to LA

The danger to US interests in LA is the Church.

(It gives people a sense of dignity, of right; a sense
that there is enough for all; that there is no need

Honduras! — like aircraft carrier.

Largest hospital in CA is a military hosp.

- over 60 clinics destroyed, built since '79.
- 7500 killed, mostly civs $\approx 600,000$ in US. (?)

- as if Russian ships were in US waters, Russian planes overheard, Russian mercenaries...

63 US ^{over} flights in November, + 5 "sonic booms"

"I don't know why Congress hasn't protested..."

"If Nic had violated int. law as US has..."

✓ [see Douglas Child report...]

[see Roy Bonner's book, *Wealth & Deceit*]

"I see the US heading for a fascist state..."

[imperial: perhaps still "liberal," with public consent...]

I asked in 1972: "Is the public, too, part of the problem?"

But do they accept Terrorism? Blair Bonfante asked

7500
50
375,000

BP asked Martin Kalb in Denver, "Why don't you use the word 'terrorism' for what US is doing in CA?"

Kalb: "We have to learn to play the game."

National Commission for Promotion + Protection of Human Rights

tel. 60080

Sister

I took part in

Mary Hartman: - Good Friday procession - supposedly

"10,000 - anti-gov procession."

5000 in traditional procession - no work -

not anti-gov.

"Freedom fighters" - made mother drink
the blood of her dead son - "I can still
taste it" she testified...

cut off breasts...

MH - "Rehabilitation program is the best in CA
of prisoners..."

L max seeing prisoners - track making
prefab houses; candy, ... farming

"There are violations of human rights in Nic.
Nic. is good, one of the best in CA - but not
perfect. Violations come from lower levels, not
gov policy; violators are punished (300? violator
✓ are being punished) - ^{mostly military, others} ~ 70 from events.
of MH officer - ... S - range on contra
collaborators

Miskitos — 300 jailed for CR activity ("Red
Christians" — ^{plan to invade} — ~~Stinson~~ Fogath Dec. '81
judge in Puerto Cabezas gave

20-30 year sentences... Our lawyers investigated...
sentences reduced 50-80%;

"judge was jailed" (? ... "upgraded"?)

"Our job is to monitor human rights in all
the ministries."

Raul Cordon

5 lawyers (20 staff altogether: chauffeurs, mess...)

(A '79, 7500 National Guards imprisoned;
still 2200 serving time. Cases being
reexamined.

Permanent Commission on Human Rights (1977-)

Good critical mind — but when he saw
Sands would win, he went to Venezuela to ask for
(US?) intervention. He saw Pope... He reported 700
killed by Sands, led to investigations... (Amnesty, Pax Christi,
etc.)

(13 were killed in war, 9 in Miami, etc.)

Fayoth in Dec. '81:

Let: Testimony to House Panel about
Can a bill on CIA Manual

by Michael Ratner, ... Dec. 4, '84
by Judy Robinson
Center for Const. Rights, 853 Broadway
14 flr. NY 10003*

~~State~~

"Committee of Latin Am." "A New Inter-
American Policy for the Eighties."

Council for Inter-American Security
305 Fourth St. N.E.

Wash DC 20002

X. Francis Bourke

Roger W. Fontaine

Daniel C. Jordan

Douglas Simon

(Blair has copy) ✓

* also: Project of War Crimes Tribunal

on CA and Carib.

and Nat. Lawyers' Tribunal - CA Task Force

"CA and Carib. Legis"

12 Dec 84

At mini-security prison camp, farm,
talking to in charge of discipline
(one week vacation per year;

Chief (?) of Sonoya's personal bodyguard;
bodyguard of Howard Hughes ("In the earthquake,
the American bodyguards ran off; he and another
Mk. got HH down from the 7th floor into a
car; he was 'normal' (not long hair or nails), thin,
in a bathrobe; looked dazed & scared, like everyone."

21 years in Panamá; sgt. in security; helped
guard US ambassadors, Pezzullo last. Trained
in Panama; in US to study security procedures,
in Wash, NY, SF, in 1977.

Did people join the Panamá voluntarily, or drafted?
"Not really voluntary; the nature of the society
gave the ~~little~~ forced the in. As a present,
it would make a few pesos, - not enough for
this family - work 3-4 months a year. The Panamá
was a good job - paid more, good clothes, good
boats, easier work."

How did
- ~~Did~~ you understand w/ the Khmer lost?

- A: They were poorly trained.

Q: Wasn't the US training good?

A: Only the elites had that — most had very little.

Q: But the guerrillas didn't have any.

A: But they had conviction!

Q: Wasn't you surprised when the Khmer lost?

A: No, I knew they would be defeated.

Q: At the end; but earlier?

A: I always knew they would be defeated
whenever anyone with arms opposed them ("The
Khmer had all the weapons"); as soon as the
people rose up with weapons...

Earlier: * No specific accusation was made
against him; they looked at his record, saw
when he was at different times, his jobs
(dossiers!) — convicted of crimes against humans rights,
war crimes (not specific).

Agrees that some ~~hard~~ should be kept
in; some had done nothing wrong.

"But I was part of an apparatus that
did do many crimes."

Q: Would interviewers join contest if released? A: maybe;

Q: Would you join the contest? No

many would

Why not?

— "Because I have a family, responsibilities.

And second, the contest have no future.

... Even if they won. They are poor people,
who are manipulated now; they would be poor
and manipulated even if they won."

Q: What did you think about VN?

— We saw pictures, of terrible things that
were being done: burning houses, bombing,
killing children.

Q: What did that make you think about working
with Americans.

A: I didn't think about it. I was a professional,
being doing my work.

Q Did you expect US to come in on your side?

A. No, never.

Q. But Reagan would have, or Nixon.

A. (Looks thoughtful...) You know more about that than I do.

Q: What will happen in El Salvador?

A: It will go on for a long time.

But the US cannot win; as in VN, the Americans are a different race (Noyes)

[Noel, at lunch: The Honduran Army are anxious to try out their skills in a war. They are proud of their American boots, uniforms; they are proud to have the Godfather behind them - they feel they can't lose; the US can't let the losing] (cf. VN, 1972, retreat from Hue - discrediting boots).

Big nose, belly, big face, with small looking eyes - that could look very tough.

(May Hartman: he was in a suitcase "implicated in tortures.") ≈ Clare Valliano - by contemporaries. (He had

Hartman; He said, of prison: "I learned to speak
to say what I thought..."

He shows his good paintings, in beautiful
Mex. primitive style. Learned the guitar;
good voice.

What would he do with Bradshaw if he were
Soc. in charge?

A: "Hard question."

Born 1940 in Dayton, Ohio; ~~the~~ 7th child,
 1st to be born in US - other born in Bogota, Bermuda
 Island. Mother IRA supporter from Ireland. Father
 worker from Galicia, b. 1898; came to US from Cuba
 ("first after Spanish American War, Spaniards from
 Spain were not popular.") His brother fought for Republic
 Spain, 2 in prison under Franco - none could get
 passports. Neither Marxist, Father worked for National Civil Reg
 (under
 tried to unionize; NCR was del.
 joined during Theater, produced a Julian Beck
 (Molier?) when 18; "first real Christmas I was
 out - though poor." (Anarchist pamphlet.)

Overlook into subway during CD drill in NY
 in 1959; the car up, saw Becks walking
 down street, with balloons; saw the body
 beaten by police.

Miriam Kago Lagunas

Instr. of Social Security and Well-being (Welfare)

"Friedman's just another name for no (relationships)
left to love."

see

NYRB's request to me for end-of-year
piece ^{'75} - and issue of baby.
(after '74 flap)

NCR piece - threatening friendship with EPT
(and son, Thya...)

wife role - wrot D

- - Wf El Sal was "on for a long time"?

To for Marshall NYT:

- ~~Wf~~ to new justified - CA? (e.g. Afghanistan?)

- Wf not Nic ans to El Sal rebels?

(see conflict of values
in Cambodia?)

- ["If this is all it took (threats, pressure,
interests, politics) to get US to intervene in
CA — it doesn't take much."

[Carter was a aberration, that permitted
FSLN to win — window of opportunity. But
windows shut just after El Sal revolt
expanded (?)

Barricada

14 Dec

[- Open Door policy.

- threat/intimidation - nonverbal...

ing talk at Embassy: 13 Dec

"(A good place to meet Americans: Columbus...

"20 years ago, on election day, bombing plans

"This year - M16 score (= TG hoop; testing +

needing Cong approval

[Will that be the "festival
equiv. of a dec. of war"?!]

("provocation" plans:

Sept 1984.

+ Cong silence; approval
of killing M16s]

Christmas bombing 1972

(Brinks, Bin Naa, Olickin, Que Nhon)

(To Reno: I was not impressed by the political
judgment w/out US of the DRV.... Either the thought
invasion/bombing was

(- Praise FSLN forbearance, restraint...

refusal to be provoked...

- Resort to law ; West Europe opinion; elections

- I have worked in advocacy in country that looked like this one (before it was beset by US' depolation, B-52's)
- I know what that kind of plans are being made in there. *
- As a father, I am proud that my daughter is ⁱⁿ one of the best public health programs in CA, world.
- But as a American, I am to know of too many shots my daughter at risk - and the children she is caring for.

- The Americans here make it possible for me to be hopeful + proud to be a American.

* They are as well-intentioned as we are - like us, they want to be good Americans. But the idea of being a good Amer. is ~~the same~~

Months to deployment of

MCE

6 Nov 29, 1958

Honduras - Amigos, 1976 summer (first
graduated from H.S. (Westlake)
(after 2d year of year)

Panamá - ^{Aug.} ~~Aug.~~ 1978 - Sept 1979
(Ministry of Health, volunteer)

Mexico - December 1979 - Jan '80

Jan '80 -

Daniel Ortega, PM Manroy, Francisco
Cardenal

1. Wf no titles to lots?

A: Lack of technicians to survey, meet legal
requirements; small number of techs drained off to
other projects, like new survey mill. I understand your
concern - we'll give provisional drawings to question immediately

This is one of the most difficult areas: hills, surveys. Next year,
it will take 2 years 6 months to survey. But you won't lose your land.
- 200 public pay-phones in county; each costs

\$1000

Q: no phones; we had a fine, but no
phone. Wf not on public pay phone.

(Ortega points, gestures: this says, "We'll send a man tomorrow to make this")

Q: We paid deposits for lights; in 12 days; only

4 parts put up. Want lights for Christmas.

^{Mr. & Mrs. Ortega}
A: "No materials (imported)... I'll be frank - we
won't have it on 24th, or by 31st..."

Q: angry, upsets: "We know the problems. But
it was you promised the electricity is 12 days. You
shouldn't raise false hopes. When we didn't
get the lights, they said we hadn't paid on

deposit. That's not true. I know it's only 200 cordobos. That's not much, but we met our obligation. We didn't put our foot in our mouth, like you did. "

I accept your criticism. We'll do our best
(weak;
soulless,

-Q:

Q: Trying for 3 years to get water — from 4-7 AM (not 12 AM-5).

Min Water: World Bank no longer financing — it will be a few years

The whole southern part of Managua is suffering from this problem; you are higher up.

... on Sunday we'll have a new pump, which will help ... (Ontoya adds, 'Wf not from 4 to 7?')

A: 4-7 is when everyone wants it — we're consuming too much; 46 million gallons (last month, 40 mill.), we're wasting water. Start your campaign against waste in

Q: We want to know if your brothers and friends in France will donate a prop to us.

2d: What is your position on Monquillo?

3d: On draft — may don't register, or when they get called, they don't go.

Manning:

I will speak to the French Gov,
explaining the situation here....

If all the industrial countries could help out
the poor countries...

If we can help Africa, why can't we
help out C.A.? That's why I'm here.

...usually

Ontario — all battles of the middle of 1985 —
that's a firm commitment.

On electricity, something was promised, and
not delivered. That's wrong. The minister has committed
himself to delivery within 2 months. [He had said

"Security."

On water — that a serious problem, not only in Mex. Mexico City ... Europe ... Managua has a large pop. now, and keeps growing. It shouldnt keep growing. ... we have to keep sort of control imposed

... We'll have to save water; if people don't do it voluntarily, we'll have to do it by force — cutting off neighborhoods that use too much.

— We have to take P.M. off. This dialog has been too short

— On Manzanillo — We & US have a conference not to discuss details 9th meeting.

(see Bob McCartney - Wash Post
Tang Jue's thread (UK)

Mark Cook: ~~TRB~~ 96462 (Andy Butler)

Any talk by Bitenski: Can't expect your
program to be enacted ~~as~~ as precondition
for elections.

Dead in Pearl Lagoon -

Mabel Fox - volunteer - gave adult education classes to women, Health volunteer; manager of 'peoples store'
@ 30 yrs.

Concho Adolfo Mediano - ~~and~~ boat captain - leader of childrens organization; militia member -

Son Nelson - killed 12 early weekend
3 children wounded - 1 traumatic
son, 6, prob. lost both legs; girl 13 wounded; 7- son
girl ~ 8

Peter Martinez - ~~to~~ Shopkeeper, militia member, active in episcopal church - he & wife Doreth on death list of Contra for 3 years for participation in Revolution

5 more wounded -

Total - 4 dead (2 civil - 2 military)
8 wounded (4 children + 4 adults milit)

Pearl Harbor attack Sunday, 7 Dec 84
(reports by Conditon, Death Menting)

Came in from 3 direction at 11:30

(2 hrs after Brooklyn River reports finished,
in Colombia, at 9:30).

100-150 men.

Came to Concho's house and started
shooting - told C to throw out his gun.
He fired back (AK-47); was wounded
early. Ily had FAC, M-60s, M-79
Mabel screamed out that there were
children inside, to have mercy, not to
kill the all. Concho told her to take the
children & leave; she refused, said, "We'll
all die together." C. and 20-year-old
neighbor ~~was~~ helping to load - in one room,
not in bedroom.

Concho came up to window of bedroom,
dropped in a concussion grenade -

Mother was blown through the floor;
When found in the morning, C. had died
shortly before, his feet blown off. He had

the night giving instruction to the children who were still alive in the next room. 12-year-old son had been killed, legs blown off. (Mother "phrased" by shock waves; hole in floor made by her body. The children had spent the night with the walls covered with blood from the bodies of mother and baby, father dying in the other room - telling the how to behave as he died.

The 7-year-old goes off and talks to himself; he is talking to his father.

(He, baby, and 20-year-old not hurt physically).

The mother (~20) of the father (~30) was with the contras; from the same village as Creoles. This mother is believed to have known attack was coming; she may have thought that contras would only take the militia's guns. Now mother says she will never forgive younger son, for being involved. (He was in a different part of the attack, not in attack on house).

Young man involved with contacts "for
adventure — and for ~~loopholes~~" In a nearby
Miskito village, 26 100-lb sacks of
grass were found. The man in the
attached seemed & acted as if high.

The brother's voice was recognized.
He was one of 2 from Pearl Lagoon — who
pointed out houses of initiation.

Several were from Raitipura (Miskito
village where May Taylor is visiting
Cruzado — 20 mi by canoe). One from R.
was killed and left behind — shot 13 —

~~was~~ wearing new FDN cap. His family
refused to admit he had been killed; say he
is in mountains (though others recognized him).

Several others from Haulover, the
neighboring village on the Lagoon.

One person in Raitipura said there were
2 gringos with the group; also one from
FDN, shouting FDN slogans (first time the

N had appeared with Rivera's Miskito group.
TASBA PAUNY — son from.

in the South.

Doreth's husband, heard shooting; put on his militia uniform, got his gun. Sent his wife and child in back to be safe. He went out in front, but promised he wouldn't go outside fence. But "he did go out, very quietly; I heard him open the gate. He sent his rifle, also in militia, back to guard the family.

... quietly, quietly. "I will always feel that he ran away from us." "Every shot & heard, I thought, 'Oh, we killed Peter.'"

He thought shooting was from Sandinistas. He met a boy, who told him town was overrun. He then heard shooting in vicinity of house - he thought his family had been shot. He turned back toward house, ran into contras close to house. He was shot, wounded; they finished him off in the morning (~ 5:30 AM) when he left. They took his uniform, boots, gun, & killed him. "He lay there, wounded, believing we had all been killed; he died thinking that."

Fairy had been on death list for 3 years
(Creoles); Dorothy had been land. equiv. of mayor.
John son (I met) was Mary's superior in
the dist. Crusade; head of land. youth. Pedro.

In living room: plaster angelic faces by door;
little china figures; fuzzy blue bunny. Last supper.
(like prizes at carnival).

^{written}
killed Dennis' house; ~~there was~~ M-79
fired 8 grenades into house; he lost 3 toes.

(Woman in pic. next to house; his aunt,
living next door. His sister wounded.)

Conchita Pondler, member of zonal committee
of FSLN.

Maria Jesus Acevedo, with AK-47 in
our boat; in CDSs in Bluefields' region.

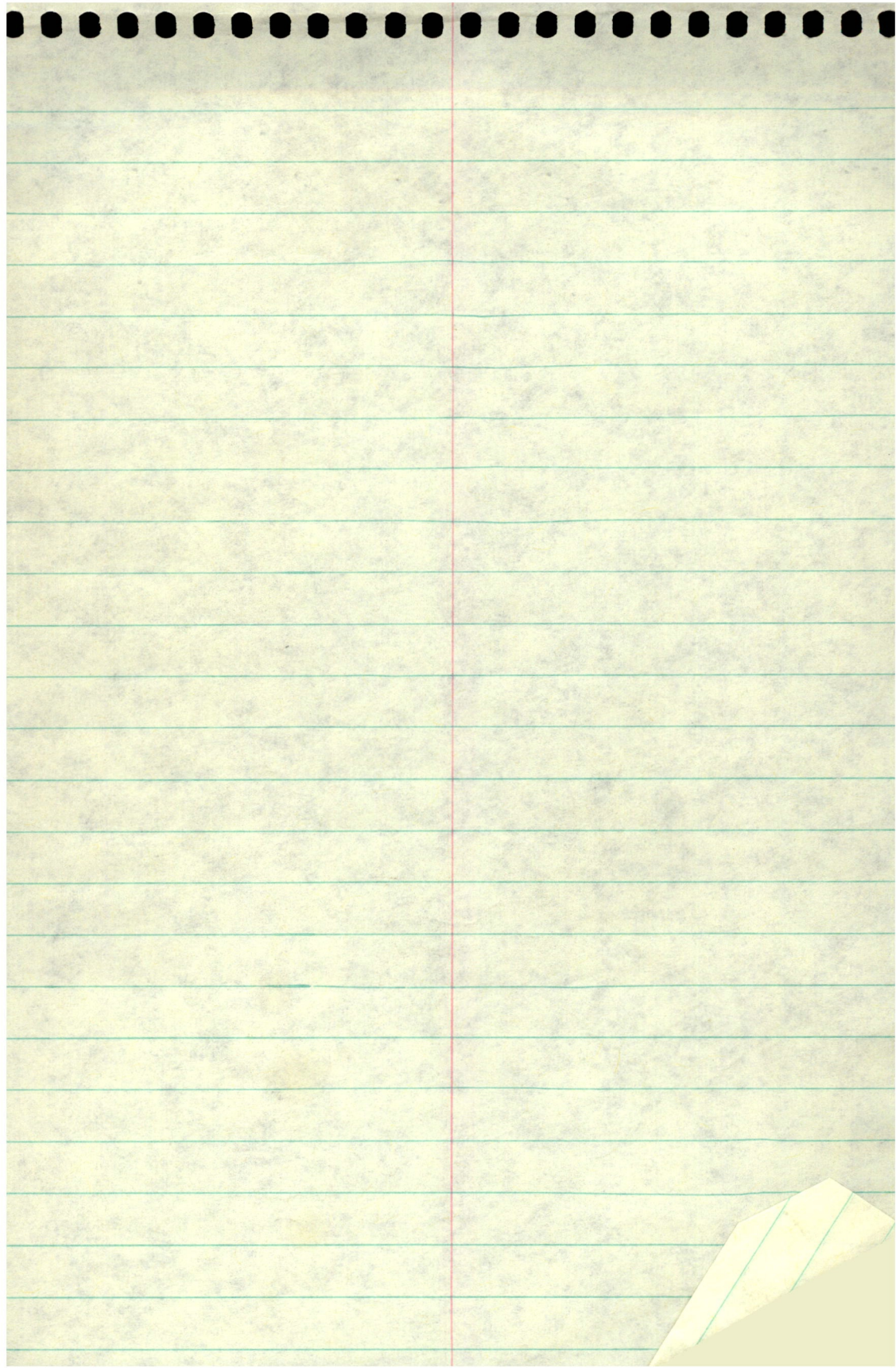
(malaria in our boat; with appendicitis, or
bad worms. Pain - can't stand. Cold &
council with my friends.

Julio "abandoned" of his bath room"
(bath room just the size of his bed; office,
size of closet.)

Speculation that attack was planned by
FDN to disrupt negotiations with Rivera. Evon
"We didn't expect an attack, during the
dialog."

(Or - Rivera, ~~was~~ little "pressure" on
negots?)

I pick up: mutilated doll; mutilated plaster
figure; shoe; school-book, with names (wrong),
another, with drawing of prisoners, like Am Frank's
photos. Moravian prayer & hymn book; round
Outside, film/gossip mag. All in English.



Enemies are going off - the part -
which completes the resemblance to Saigon.
(It seems to me to be back in a tropical
country, observing (and even occasionally
"advising") operations against guerrillas - again -
with the political and national roles reversed.

[Kahn] Except what is not reversed. The
US is among the "aliens" again - they were
called Mrs ("savage") in VN - to the
distinction (or perhaps not - the FSLN is
negotiating. This ability to be for, and
against, the adversary may be unique. And
it is the US, again, that will benefit if the
plans are fulfilled.

It has taken me 17 years to learn to
say "they", "their plans" about the US Gov.

2200

It is late because I was asked to
tell the group about going west to the Atlantic
Coast.

I told th about you anti-nuclear
campaign. And about Bhupinder.
And the African kids, All this
briefly, because I ~~told th~~ wanted to
tell th about Pearl Pigeon.

I

I started crying, of course, and told th
about the boy who looks to his father,
and when I took the rubies out of the sack.
I put th on the cement patio inside the
circle of our chairs, in a patch of light
from the door: the tea plastic bottle,
the shoe, the book and hymnal, the hammer,
the doll.

Nobody said anything after I stopped
crying and talking. After a while I said,
"This time the ^{US} plans to use ^{granules} the terraces
and the landing. If the bombing starts again
if we don't prevent it - it won't be just
a few hundred houses that look like
this one.

I looked at the doll - stage children
immediately exploded, eyes staring and half
closed, face blanked - and understood
something. It was not from a bombing
raid, actually. It was a bunker 100-50
yards from a bridge south of Saigon.
It had been occupied by a VC platoon for a
while the night before; the VC had started
shooting at the heavily-armed Regional Forces
battalion that was quartered under the
bridge approach, 50 yards away. The RFs
were, as usual, too scared to move it
into the bunker. They just fired into it
all night with the M60s [14-60's], and
the troops burned down all the houses, which
were made of thatch and palm leaves and
bamboo.

I saw in the bunker the next morning
while everything was still smoking. It was
the sort of thing that justified by doing the

roads; you couldn't get the full from a report, or from the air, just how close the houses came to the RF ~~Alley~~ line. That had chosen to fire on the villages rather than send out a patrol. The point of the report I made was the cowardice ("bad leadership, low motivation") of the RF's were paid out and, and the incentive for the people they were supposedly protecting. But what I always recalled of that morning was the disconsolate, resigned look, and the posture, of the mothers picking through the ashes and ash, still smoking, salvaging shards of pottery and a few pawns. What I remembered most was a little boy with a black expression on his face, pulling out of the ashes a pink saucer, and a bearded doll.

I said, looking at the doll in front of us, "I've seen dolls like this before. In VN."

"And if we don't stop our war, every doll in Vietnam will look like that."

I was crying and shaking, so I went to my room. After a while I shook up the group and brought the things to my room.

I suspect the notebook was the little girl's who is in the hospital. I wish we could visit her and get to know her. Could you? Her drawing of the princess — or the girl in a ball gown — was especially nice. Martin said, "My girl drew pictures exactly like that." Alberto said, "So does mine."

The first sentence of her composition is —

It seems to me I want to do things for her. First of all, there is nothing so precious I can have as so precious as your attention. I don't let my know.

I will ~~not~~ ^{not} look back if she wants
it.

I am very concerned about the little boy.

Maybe some of the money can help
the two families. I will send some, for you.

I am very proud of you.

When people say, "You must be very
proud of your daughter," I say, "It is more
like feeling I am proud to know her."

My last concert at the airport may have
seemed very odd; it was a very strange way
of singing.

I have found you lovely.

You are gorgeous, and you always have
been.

I wait apologetic for sight at the

quality — you other mites are obvious,
and I probably mites the more. But if
the little girl — Pearl Ragoo can dream
of a princess, so can I.

I kept my promise — already.

You asked to explain that I didn't —
"Never!" Not true — but I think you were

Margarita Clark

ASTC 96511/62716
a. 74867

A.S.T.C.

Casa "Fernando Gordillo"
Parque el Carmen
Managua, Nicaragua

Heath Bars

Americas Watch report a mislitos
critique of Nietzsche



TQ - check with my in hand
sent \$1333
about Dec. ~ 21 or 22

Intervention

13 March 86

Philis, Nic

1. When we can displace a ~~tyrannical~~ tyrannical, torturous dictatorship by cutting off our aid to it, — that is an "intervention" we should undertake.

(Haiti; Philis: ~~argt~~, Chile, South Korea, Paraguay, ... (South Africa))

The rule: no direct support of, or use of, terrorism and torture. (That cuts out Contras, and Sonaga...)

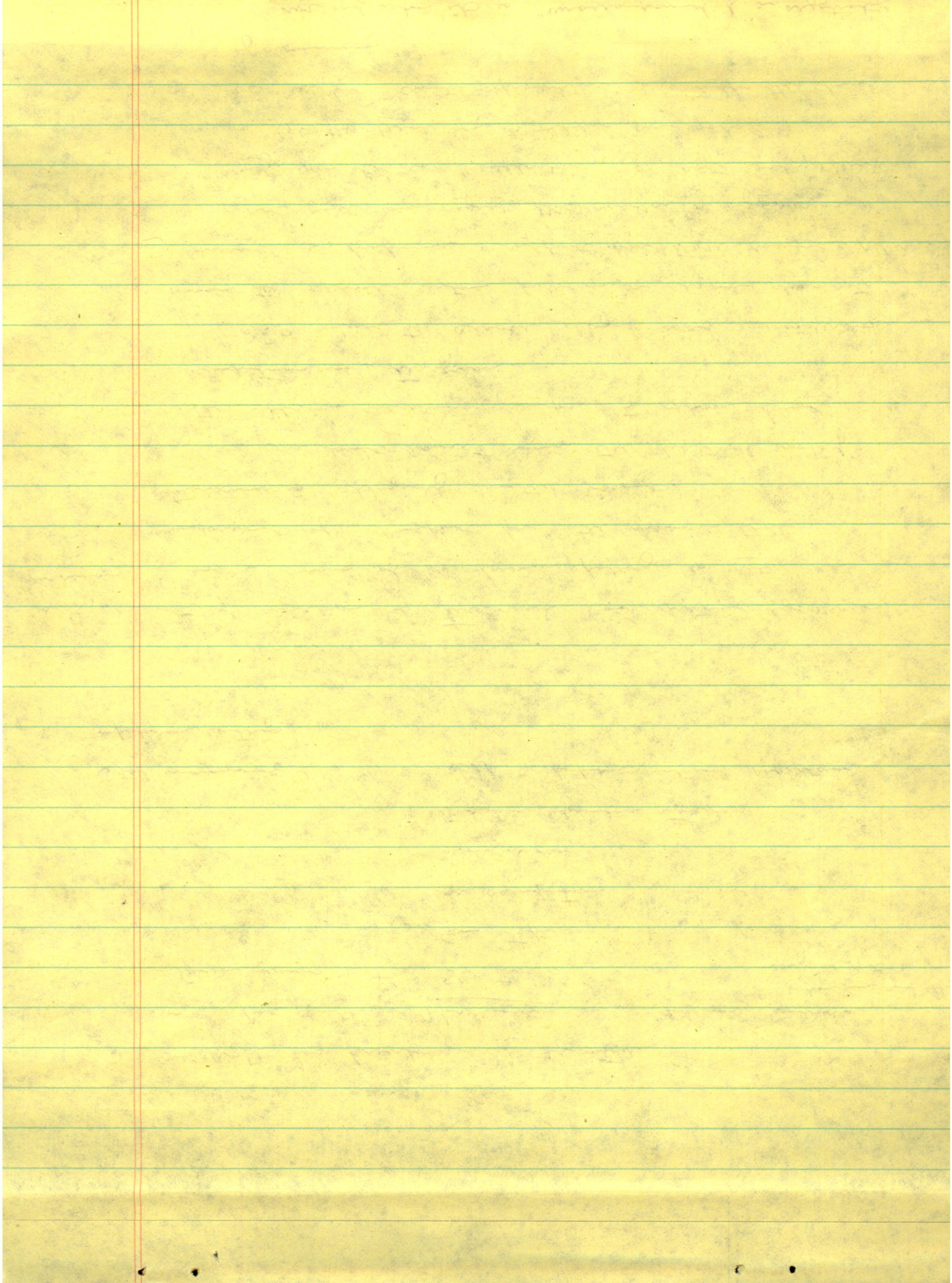
2. If US (Carter) had backed the liberal opposition to Sonaga — as Reagan finally did in Philis — the Sandinistas would not be in power: and with all the disadvantages of that, for the poor, the US would not be at war with Nic.

3. Sons are a war regime; this worst error, ^{Miskitos,} a bad one, is clearly equivalent to the US treatment of the Japanese on the West Coast in 1942 ...

4. Their lack of direct support to FMLN is a measure of their prudent desire to avoid US involvement ...

Λ / / X





To Do:

Thursday 13 March

- ✓ - Call Andy, Aspin's sec
- ✓ - Tickets: Sunday — (then in tickets)
 - money, travel checks
- ✓ - Call Robert, Carol
 - Call Jurewicz
 - Write: thoughts on the
 - Call: Herman ~~Ente~~ Comlete: Bastion
 - Call: Hilda; Wolfgang
 - Call: Sandy

- ✓ - Call: Ploughshares
 - Call: for K, on back
 - Please Bert / affect

Read: clips on the
NPRB - Leiden
Chomsky

— When was K and T reform, on political decision?
1984? (Values, Forms + choice?)

McMillan: MacMichael's Report (Press Conf, 10:30 Monday: attend?)
San Wash Post
Buckman column.

Copies: Hambrook, XRL (Pike?) see Pike?

775-2244 Ploughshares

Nic

13 March 86

on RW Apple
NYT, March 12

- Debris: 2) R gave up early on winning vote in House —
is aiming now ⁽²⁾ to scare Dems who vote against
him into switching later — in June? — to a
bill that will give him what he wants*,
“as this initiative” (McKillen).

They, he is not trying to switch votes

He is happy to “lose” votes

So long as he can tar those who oppose him

(Dems + Reps) as “pro-Comm, anti-Reagan.”

So the day after the vote, they won't be thinking
“We've won!” but “How do I get out of ^{the} trouble
I'm in?”

(b) Maybe: as votes go down, inevitably,
he can blame it all on his opponents.

(c) Aspin's support of Pres (after vote for
27M last year, Voice vote in Committee now, about
24-6 for bill) is consistent with this —

Aspin has said publicly since Jan 83:

“Dems must not be run as anti-defense, pro-Comm,
anti-Reagan.”

(d) Hyp: Real point is to get CIA officially “legally
back in the act

1) Watch out if they can't start spending immediately,
even if ^{70M} ~~100M~~ is tied up for 6 mos (3 mos?) of “negot.”

(Debris: Marxist? anti-Russian? Phil-friend who left him?

2) Real plan: more CIA ops like the mining of
Comino (done with Navy SEALs? McMillan - and non-Mies)
and at Cuban ships & planes - and to
provide greater Cuban involvement, SU -
as excuse for US intervention, after all.

(34A ops - Israeli Half.) But or military attack - US is Honored
(R's of chance is - to rationalize US intervention,
"as in Phils, Haiti, South Africa, Chile (Korea?)
and Grenada."

3) These ops require high tech - the 100M is for
that, not for Contractors to operate it, but CIA men;
Congress must provide funds, and limit CIA
involvement; otherwise, tech would reveal CIA role,
which would be against the law.

4) McMillan: says that experienced, 32-year man has
been removed from DDP and replaced by young
Reagan / Bushman type.

— Dems will not switch votes on 100M now if they
called "Cons" - they will look for "this" bill
to show they're not!

"This is the proof that got us into VN - 'to avoid
losing it to Cons' - they haven't changed that much!"

- Contras are "moral equivalents of Fading Fatah."

Is R saying George Washington was a terrorist?
Organized + paid by the Fund?

True, George did "shoot his way into power."

George II no man allowed his rep in America to be
changed by election than George US or George III.

+ George did have foreign aid

- like Saudis (mostly in region!)

- like Afghan rebels, Solidarity

~~not~~

(like VC)

but if wasn't organized, only funded, and, of a

foreign ~~organization~~; command of troops picked

by a foreign intell agency, how comes of

a former hated dictatorial police force.

- The best thing the Saudis did was to lead a
popular ~~protest~~ ^{movement} against the very things the US is
now supporting, ~~trying to~~ ^{trying to} bring back & trying to reinstate!

(The guy ~~supported~~ ^{supplied} by US - are in the hands and
under the command of ~~Somozas~~, not of the civil
"front" who opposed Somoza.)

- The US role in Nicaragua is very different from the US role in Afghanistan; the situation the US faces in Nicaragua is very different from the situation it faces in Afghanistan. (The Sand regime is totally different in origin, policy, ideology, from the Karmal regime in Afghanistan; Cuban-Soviet role is totally different from Soviet role in Afghanistan.

But we are drifting toward the same role in Afghanistan as we did in Vietnam. (We are further along on this in El Salvador)

- Sassoon: to "own" Paris - the agency with R's definition of the situation, many gobbledicks over timing of news, role of "agents."

DPP

VN 1964-65

DPP:

and certain prospects of domestic pub. costs

When the current policy offers no hope of a win,
D'o: Wash can choose a "non-NO-WIN" strategy

* Cheap statements, without much domestic political attention,
may not be counted as "failure/negative" but as
"zero, status quo, even mild success."

VN, 1954-64.

When a costly statement, as in 1965, 1969, was
distinctly negative.

When a Act appears to be accepting a costly
statement, (VN 1964) (VN 1969-72) (Nix 1985-86: 100M proposal)

one should suspect that there is a covert
side to the strategy, that has some "reasonable"
chance of success —

even though it may involve a high chance
of greater or more costly failure, or be highly
illegal, brutal, immoral.

Similarly, when Act seems to have "accepted"
a strong political setback: Bay of Pigs 1961; Chile situation
1970. (and campaign promising).

A policy that is doomed to fail in the short-run
— or even, doomed not-to-succeed in the short-run
(a long-run policy!), if it is subject to criticism or the claim of
moral policies that S-V success is possible: esp. if current pol.
is costly and/or has high public attention — is disadvantaged compared

now adignos policy, which offers some claim
of proven of L-R success, or better, S-R success,
even if it is claimed to be "doomed to failure in the
long run." (Ball on execution, 1961, 1964-65:

This claim is necessarily adignos, covering the long-
run; as well as postponing the failure, rejecting it
to the distant).

Also, when S-R failure may be likely (in any case),
you go to pin the blame: e.g. on those who would
not "try" to save it.

(see Dan Cannon, on Michel + Chagny letter: —)

Herminette:

When Cuban tactics seem doomed to fail in S-R (and
L-R), whether in Congress (now, or Carter said, Mar 86)
or in the field (VA, Nic),
and are "counterproductive"

(—"long wait in Congress for 100M;

— making Nic more authoritarian,

deficient on SC + Cuba")

the suspect — contrary to media + academic practice —
that the Cuban does know what everyone else knows;
and that its aims — tactical + L-R — may be different
from what it says, & public thinks;

and/or its tactics are different, being "covert"

about (see, e.g. 1964; or West's on invasion, 1965; or N, 1969-72;

or VN 1973 after Accord, or Nic, US intervention, provocation)

Michael + Chogy want CIA involved
(Lyon paper over).

- "so amount of aid can be hidden."

- [so non-Mie assets and direct US role
is possible, in provocative activities.]

[Back to 1983? plan?]

- Question whether Achi "wants"

- to increase pressure under Saids
(without another Saids)

- to decrease Saids' reliance - Adams or loss

- to avert US intervention (e.g. is and ,
after provocation)

- to get Saids into negot

(is and talks: to reduce weapons,
supply arms + detonators ...)

On and: When Achi appears to accept a "statement"

(as in Angola: "On is is to prevent Marxist from
imposing a winning winning - reduce negot"

(as in Mex : "We know entire can't win ...")

- Achi may will be buying time, stalling off defeat
(esp. if "cheap" : Angola?)

But this is not the l-r strategy, esp. if costly (high attention;
e.g. in VN - statement in SVD was more accounting).

as necessary, and sufficient if (the) accomplish
of being pressure on NVN.

In Mex: entire must not dissolve, nor power be achieved, till
US is in the process.

13 March 86

Mr Miller: R doesn't want a immediate vote on
"compromise / escape / negot" after losing a 100M;
He wants more time to "build bridges,"
encourage Dns to come with "the one plan" —
he will get a better one later.
[I'm late yes, April to June!]

[Also, he will leave Dns with "no plan,"
"no maintenance and for centres after March 31!"
So the boat will be on the — the fear of
centres collapse, with no aid! "Dns' fault."
Final result — a better bill, for R, than he
could get now.

Note: Issue now is not whether US is trying, or should now
try, to overthrow Somo, a and in US troops:

VN:

but R wants Dns to agree that

"Somo deserve to be overthrown," ("if centres,
if possible)

"This is a danger to
region, and to US"

— "US ~~is~~ wants th to be overthrown,

"if th unit change voluntarily"

(e.g. by negot with centres,
or arm relations)

— US has the right to overthrow th...

→ = US troops (or air) are justified and required, if needed. "
(esp. if action of Cubans or Sovs ... can be provoked)

On negots: R doesn't want another Congress vote to
open up funds, after 6 months (Sasser plan).

- Assure that, at least,
- Keep out C/A, meanwhile.

Hyp: Dems should attack the above premises:

- US needs to overthrow Somo. (e.g. to avoid all horrors: see Harsh, vs. Dyer)
- US has a right " " "
- US can " ", without US troops.
- US has a right to use terrorists.
- US troops would be justified, right in
"regime", could bring peace & justice
& democracy to Central America.

(If Aspin votes for 100M, he will not be acting differently
from those who voted for Torkin Gulf Res — with a lot more
warning. Also true of those who vote for delayed
aid (esp. if C/A "fund" now).

As to R

Our past relations with Marcos + Duvalier show the
amount of steady, consistent "cover" for "democracy"
in the Third World. *

(This week's pressures on Chile + South Africa,
constitute "firsts" for R, after 5 years!)

This month has seen 2 different ways of
"advancing democracy" in the TW:

1) By shifting, threatening or abandoning our
full support for dictatorship.

(Quick shift! Nation.

And think of popular shift towards
left in Cons.)

2) By ~~aid~~ aid to guerrilla forces fighting
against regimes (Working with US, much more behind
the processes or may in the area) USG regards
as unipolarly pro-US, "democratic" or cap.

(or too close to SU/Cuba).

Angola: a problem: alliance with South Africa
(an aggressor in area!)

Nic: alliance with Sonocistas, one of terror.
(Cambodia: alliance with Pol Pot!)

Afghanistan: justified ^{or European} Western like SU aid to Nic!

Apply (1) to South Korea, Chile, South Africa, (Paraguay?)

NYT, March 7, 1986: Bushman: "I can't think of a single issue," he said, "in

which the Pres is more deeply committed than his desire to bring democracy to

all of Central America and the Caribbean." (Feb 11, 1986, p. 7, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100)

On "Con-says"

Don't give the South so much credit, for
"manipulating opinion." Some Congressmen & members of
the public know how to read, and they've been
taught how to read critically, when it comes to
Soviet propaganda, this or ours.

I've been reading ^{I've read some of the PP!} newspapers during VN; R
didn't even see, for over, to have been watching TV
during those years!

Are US troops the center a substitute for
US troops, or a precursor, a magnet? (like
34A and air ops in VN, & TLBs...)

(kill: Are MX + PII a "deterrent" or a "lightning rod"?)

If failure to aid the center could
lead to / require / justify the sending of
US troops (Wentworth, to Home and Senior Com
Men 5; SF Chan Men C)

|| the failure of the center, after US aid,
would do the same - even more surely!

Reason, some day, to finish off: "the
US is at stake ... "We send money and material now so
we will never (Ha!) have to send our own American
boys." [This is not LBJ's message in 1964! JFK, was?]]

"If we don't want to see the map of Central America covered
in a sea of red, eventually, looking at our own borders, we must act now."

DPP

(JTM, 1965!)

DPP

SF Chron Feb 28, 1986

Shelf said failure to provide the aid
"mean the situation will fall apart in a hurry."
He added: "I know which side I'm on. I know who
the good and the bad guys are here."

[But, the aid doesn't ^{portion} mean failure — as
I may have upheld in "Penguin Myth": It 'provides a
hope...'] — attraction — aid — is aid and quick collapse,
[30M will prevent collapse;
the 70M for imp. provides "hope."

But Daniel Evers asks: "We have upheld
the aid." [Increased US aid costs — to be justified,
"made good" — like "dead must not have died in vain"]

(as: "let the dead bury the dead...
bygone be bygone...")

"If the result of this request is... a popular
revolution (in Nicaragua) and ^{they don't quite do} it ~~it doesn't quite make~~
it [as in Phils, after election!],
what then do we do?"

[in Chile, in 1972-73, or in Phils 1986, we the
called on any corp.

But — Rule — US Troops.

File ~~20~~ 21, NYT: Need for US activity advisors — and aircraft/helicopters
COMMITMENT!

Steve MacMillan: Barbara Kunkel's off

225-2265

R 703-527-6953

Brey Cob 658-7435

wh 549-1387

Vincent: Emily is

Jeff Masson: 655-0580 IF Stone?

for Erikson - Datan

Jul 21 Sub. L Angola & Nic, Adv is
"laying the basis for negotiated settlement."

(i.e. refusing to talk, while fighting
is "negotiating".

Next stage (infinite): "Talking while fighting."

^{hand}
As in Korea; "Must keep the mil. pressure on, ^{on up},
while negotiating."

Thus, escalation as prelude to negot. (PD5)
Marigold, Noroi ^{See} banding, 1966?

Banding since 19th band, 1968.

NAK "negot," 1969-72.

NAK: "How negot without a threat of war?" ^{See} 1968.

- \$250 million yearly for last several years to Afghan rebels.
(to negot?!)(to win?)

\$5 M to Cambodian forces

27 M to Nic centres - 100M

15 M to Angola

Does killing, threatening, terrorism, lead to
"compromise, negot"? or to counter-pressure
(and counter-support of others)

See Michael Parenti, SF Chron

[R decision to see TW conflict - US-SU this
is an excuse to side with the US-dominated military
and land-owning, rich elites, against the poor majority
(against popular movements + orgs, new, democracy.)]

"R don't seem to oppose, not new (or democracy, or
unions, or land reform) but "aggression - by Soviets +
Cubans + etc."

For the administration

For R, "There is no TW: "there are two worlds: free + free."
the free world and the Com world."

For "anti-Com" and anti-new/left/nationalist ^{imperialist} (Baker
Baker
Baker)

that threatens to any degree existing
US econ interests/privileges/power,
(democracy is Central America)

(For Great Power, sphere of influence, and "empire")

SF Expansion, March 11

Baines & Boland: 100M legs. would not loose
more than 100M from DOO budget; it would allow
for use of CIA's contingency funds, "second tier
legion" and all hits on CIA/DOO activities!

Thy, black check: Tanki Half Res

(like asking for expanded 34 A ops!]

vs. XVN - to provoke response

vs. US forces, ~ US allies!

Mar 11, NYT

US has "moral obligation" to help countries,
having helped the earlier.

[What about after the 100 M+ ?!]

Quoting Jackson, "In ^{the} national security, the best
politics is no politics."

Repentance consumers.

Paris opposes "far left ideology, ... that our world
and peace have" (!)

... "selective indignation of liberals ... that
judged some dictators less harshly because of
cultural thought over, Com, Mexico ..."

(Turn: like R/C Warriors!)

"The end of the post-VN syndrome,
the return of realism about the Com danger."

This side is the least out

[No - US troops in Viet will be!]

Countries = Hungarian frank-rights, vs. front tasks
(where we didn't help...)

[Rev. ^{was of NL} is justified in East Com - (Anger, 50...)]

As in Southern Viet, Central America (El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras)
Maoists' Philos.

As in VN, we are backing (ipso facto?) foreign-
subverted-and-controlled elements who (" ") lack
popular support — which our opponents have
(whether or not they have majority support — though
they have majority respect, as nationalists, by virtue
of their resistance to us!)

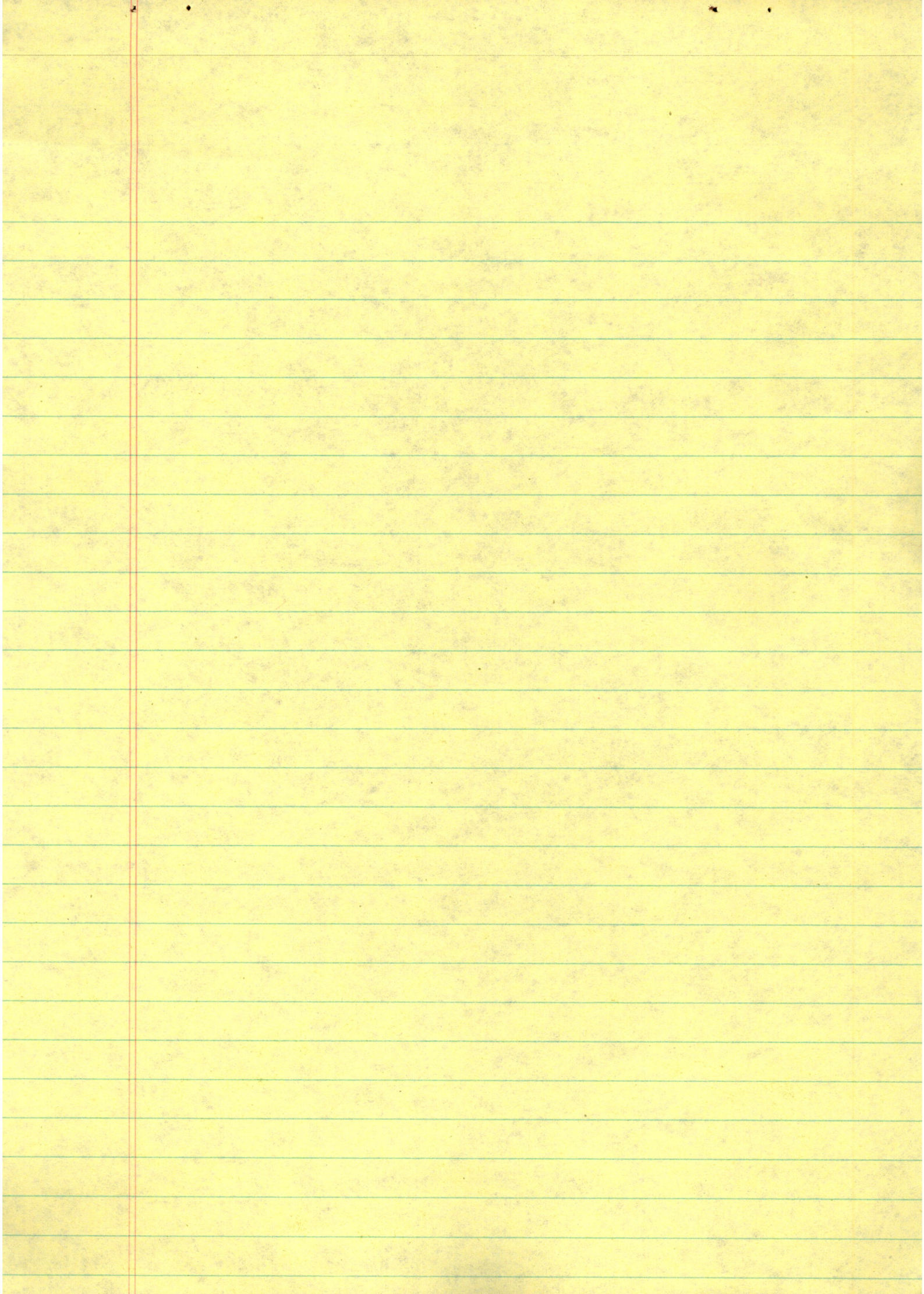
Thus, we are trying, and failing, to create
a "civil war" — which I see clearly it is
(if not, "aggression", of Cons");

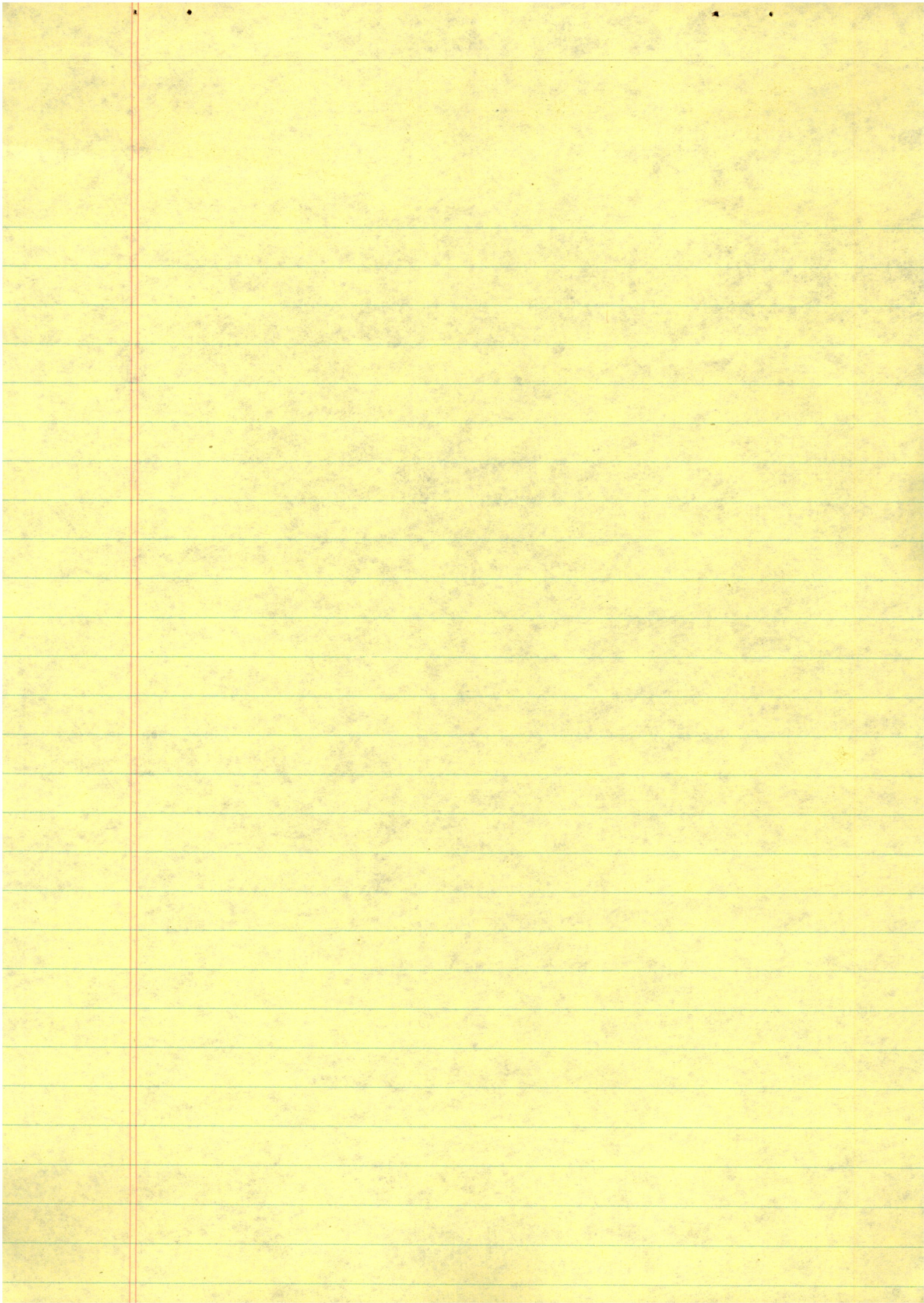
whereas it is only imperial aggression, by
us — is a conflict which would not be
explaining a war, except for us.

(Unlike Afghanistan — or even Cambodia...) (or Angola

(China, Pol Pot)

South Africa,
Samir)





No trial at all

$\frac{1}{3}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$ non-legal

15M "

440 coal

^{mercador}
Segundo Flores

712 G lt. SE 20003

Coalition for a New

202-546-8400

For-hil Policy

House

Senate

McCurdy (Aspin runs McCurdy
for Chairmanship)
33 votes

(45 for us)

(with side has 218)

Jones Slattery D-Kansas

Jim Wright - Texas

Albert Bustamante Tex 225-4511 1116 Longworth

Biaggi

10:30 -

Hale

B. Epstein

basic objectives, we agree. If we could find a method of getting rid of a state such as Cuba, we wouldn't hesitate to take it."

(e.g. us. losses, rights, "morality")
Are priorities? VN-H etc. the same? Barrios

Johnstone was right to insist that the differences between the pragmatists and the ideologues do not have to do with their fundamental attitude toward Soviet communism or their view that U.S. national security requires expanded U.S. power, especially the military power to enable the U.S. to undermine the Soviet Union and its "surrogates." Nevertheless, the differences between the two groups have major implications for U.S. policy. A willingness to negotiate with an opponent suggests some recognition of that state's right to continued existence; a policy of refusal to negotiate suggests a denial of a state's legitimacy. (But see: "negotiate" with Khmer Rouge...)

The Debate Over Negotiations: Central America

In Central America, U.S. willingness, or refusal, to negotiate can make the difference between who stays in power and who does not, even who stays alive and who does not. The pragmatists, Johnstone told me, believe that it might be possible to work out a "time limited modus vivendi" in Nicaragua, a political solution [framed by a readiness to move back to military confrontation "if necessary"] based on unification of the Contras and the Nicaraguan internal opposition, an agreement that they would become part of the political process, along with agreements that the Sandinistas not accept Soviet military aid or provide military aid to other insurgents in the region.

Open Door
(to US mil. advisors)